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# The Shape of Things

THE SAGGING PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED Nations has been substantially bolstered by the quick action taken on the Indonesian war. For once, legalisms were swept aside and the Security Council asserted its right to intervene in order to end a breach of the peace. It is significant that the three other colonial powers—Britain, France, and Belgium—backed the delegate from the Netherlands when he questioned the jurisdiction of the Council in a matter which, in the opinion of the Dutch, is purely one of domestic interest. It is also significant that two former colonies, Australia and India, which have gained the status of nationhood, initiated the move to end a "senseless war" and effect a just settlement. We know that in the diplomatic circles of some of the greater powers there is deep concern lest the U. N.'s "precipitous action" has set "dangerous precedents." But in our opinion, what the United Nations needs more than anything else these days is a supranational audacity rather than polite deference to the sacred cows of national sovereignty, particularly colonial sovereignty. The U. N. action does not settle the Indonesian affair. But an important beginning has been made, and it is not a bad sign that the representatives of four old empires are viewing it with alarm.

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GROMYKO'S VETO, KILLING THE AMERICAN proposal of a "semi-permanent" commission to watch the Greek frontier and try to prevent border incidents, was inevitable after his earlier criticism of the plan as a violation of the United Nations Charter. We take little stock in legalistic objections; constitutional interpretation, even in this well rooted democracy, too frequently follows the dominant political philosophy to allow us any illusions on that score. What is obvious as daylight is Russia's conviction that a U. N. border commission would serve as an adjunct to the American commission in Greece: both being predicated on the assumption that Russia is threatening Greek independence. This premise may or may not be correct, but in either case one could hardly expect Russia to endorse it by approving the commission. Far simpler to veto the plan, and to do so on fairly plausible legal grounds, since the question of Russia's threat to Greece had not, of course, been injected into the discussion.

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BUT ON THIS ISSUE, AS ON OTHERS, WE think Russia made its fight at the wrong time and with the wrong arguments. A commission keeping its eye on both sides of the Greek border could perform an excellent service for all concerned, even though it came into being as a result of alleged violations by the Balkan states alone. Everybody knows that the frontier has been threatened periodically by nationalistic Greeks as well as by Albanians and perennially disaffected Macedonians. Russia and its Balkan allies should, we believe, have ignored the fact that they stood accused—openly or tacitly—and demanded an international commission instructed to watch for, and act upon, violations from any source. And they should have made their fight on the first indication that the commission was taking orders from London or Washington rather than from Lake Success. Because they failed to do so, and because Russia resorted to the veto instead, their stand has been taken as a repudiation of the authority of the United Nations. As we go to press, the debate is again opening on Gromyko's counter-proposal, certain to be summarily rejected, and the Greek demand for action under Chapter VII of the Charter—the chapter invoked in the Indonesian case. If the United States backs this extreme position, it will do so knowing in advance that another Russian veto is sure. But other states too may hesitate to declare the existence of an outright breach of the peace on the Greek border, since obviously no overt aggression has taken place. The chances are that the question will be submitted in something like its original form to the General Assembly meeting in September.

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WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION on Palestine, now in Geneva, works on its report for the September meeting of the Assembly, a mounting wave of violence threatens to wash out its best recommendations.

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In Palestine, terror feeds on terror and grows monstrous. The deportation to France of 4,500 Jewish refugees brought new attacks and new sweeping repressions. The hanging of three Irgunists involved in the jail delivery at Acre, delayed until the U. N. Commission had left the country, sent an impulse of horror through the whole Jewish population—horror accentuated by the boys' youth and the fact that no British lives were lost in the Acre coup. The brutal reprisal-murder of two young British sergeants by the Irgun touched off riots and counter-attacks on the part of the angry British troops. With each new outrage, a settlement based on conciliation becomes less possible. The United Nations, we believe, without waiting for the commission's report, should promptly undertake interim steps to end the rule of violence in Palestine, pending a final solution. International action is needed there, quite as urgently as in Indonesia. At the very least, Secretary-General Lie should again remind the "governments, peoples, and . . . inhabitants" of Palestine of the General Assembly's resolution calling upon them to refrain "from the threat or use of force or any other action" which might help prevent a settlement. The fate of the Holy Land can no longer be safely left in the hands of angry terrorists, in or out of uniform.

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THE STEEL INDUSTRY'S MANY EXCUSES FOR boosting prices do not stand up too well under examination. It is true that labor, material, and service costs, such as freight charges, have increased considerably since the beginning of this year. But these increases have been offset, to a large extent, by the economies of capacity production. I. F. Stone has pointed out in *PM* that, in the first six months of 1947, United States Steel's labor and material costs per ton were far less than in the corresponding period of 1946. This comparison may be deemed invalid, owing to the effects of strikes last year. It seems fair enough to point out, however, that the corporation's ratio of labor costs to total sales was 3.6 per cent less in the first half of this year than in the first half of 1945. Big Steel has little to grumble at. For the industry as a whole, profits for the first six months of 1947 compare very favorably with those of any recent half-year, despite the alleged back-breaking burden of costs. In the case of the American Rolling Mill Company, which led the price-hoisting procession, half-year earnings of $3.64 per share look pretty healthy when set against an *annual* average of $3.23 in the six years, 1941-46. However, the steel companies complain that profits for the second quarter of this year were about 25 per cent lower than those for the first quarter. In view of the fact that the earlier period was one of the most lucrative in the history of the industry, this plaint amounts to an assertion that a wartime profit peak ought to become a plateau.

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A NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT ISSUED BY the American Iron and Steel Institute seeks to make light of the price increases. They will make little difference to the costs of most steel users, it declares: they will add only $11 to the cost of an automobile, 65 cents to that of a refrigerator, $5 to that of a farm tractor, $25 to that of a five- or six-room house. The suggestion seems to be that makers of most products containing steel might very well absorb the increased costs and so prevent any addition to the cost of living. Certainly, most consumer-goods manufacturers are making profits on a scale that would enable them to do this, but that isn't going to prevent a number of them from passing on the higher price of steel on a cost-plus basis. General Motors has already done so, with additions of $58 to $168 on various models. Obviously, such increases cannot be justified solely by reference to higher steel prices, and C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, cited rises in other materials and in wages when announcing his price boost. We note, however, that General Motors sales in the second quarter of this year were up 17 per cent compared with the first quarter, while profits rose 24 per cent. That means profit margins have expanded despite the April increase in wages. It appears that General Motors, like many another industrial concern, is basing its prices, not so much on costs, as on the good old principle of charging what the traffic will bear.

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BEFORE CONGRESS ADJOURNED, SENATOR Glen Taylor treated his colleagues to a Will Rogers version of the Cataline oration. In a good-humored, joshing tone that dragged smiles even from the Republicans, he revealed that his junior colleague from Idaho, Henry Dworshak (a close friend of Hamilton Fish), had engaged in a cynical game to corrupt the state's press and flout the rules of Congress. Last year's La Fallotte-Monroney act gave every Senator an additional $10,000 a year for staff assistance. Senator Dworshak decided that he could get along without the extra help and that the money could be better employed to subsidize junkets to Washington by friendly Idaho newspapermen. Naturally, their readers were not informed of this arrangement. They were told only that their editor "was spending a few weeks in Washington writing of national affairs," and that the man who bestrode the Capitol like the Washington Monument was none other than their own Henry Dworshak. Dworshak, the visiting editors discovered, was the Senate's most industrious budget-cutter, its most intelligent statesman, its hardest worker, its most fearless leader. The refrain never varied, although the writers changed every month. Finally, an invitation came to the editor of the *Statewide* of Boise. He did not answer by mail. He answered in his editorial column, and he denounced the scheme as "venal" and "corrupt." Taylor read the editorial on the Senate floor, with interpolations of his own. It remains to be seen what an economy-minded Senate will do about Dworshak's ingenious misuse of public funds.

# *Atomic Progress Report*

NOW, for the first time since the Lilienthal-Acheson report, we have before us a document—or, rather, a series of documents—on atomic control that gives us some reason to hope that a chance of international agreement remains open. The groups that have been quietly working away in Committee 2 of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission released last week a number of papers describing the progress made since the commission issued its first large report at the end of last year. The papers represent the work of individuals, rather than national representatives. But we have reason to believe that there is substantial agreement on the conclusions that have been reached. Unfortunately, the representatives of Russia and Poland took little, if any, part in the preparation of these reports. However, certain legitimate objections of Mr. Gromyko appear to have been met and some of his positive suggestions embodied.

What the collection of material gives us is a much clearer picture of what an operating international atomic-control agency would look like. The basic outlines of the Atomic Development Authority—as proposed in the original American plan—are not essentially changed, but a detailed discussion of its powers and functions goes a long way to dispel various misgivings held not only by Russia but by a number of other nations.

It is recognized that the international agency must possess wide rights of ownership, operation, and inspection in the field of nuclear energy. But it is also recognized that "the nations could not be expected to agree to give unlimited discretionary powers to the international agency." The agency would own the source of materials of atomic energy "after separation from its place of deposit in nature," but it would not own the mines. Nor would the agency determine the amounts of nuclear fuel to be developed in each country. Provisions to govern "the location, mining, production, distribution, and use of source material and nuclear fuel, as well as dangerous facilities," would be written into the treaty or convention. "It would then be the duty and responsibility of the international agency to implement these provisions in accordance with the terms of the treaty or convention." In regard to the assignment of quotas for the mining of uranium and thorium, it is recommended that the "treaty or convention should embody the principle that comparable national deposits throughout the world should be depleted proportionately."

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Even in the matter of inspection, the international agency is not given a completely free hand. "It is obvious that no feeling of security could be established in the world if nations could reserve the right to prohibit access to certain parts of their territory. But exercise of the right to make full investigation would be subject to various procedures, according to the nature of the territory or the building inspected." The possible delay occasioned by the requirement of a warrant must be balanced against "the need for protecting the personal right of freedom from unreasonable search." The whole investigatory function—from the original and occasional surveys to locate deposits of uranium and thorium, through the inspection of mining, processing, and developing operations, to the inspections and surveys to detect clandestine activities—is gone into with great thoroughness. The nation and the individual are guaranteed against abuse of the power of the international agency, just as the private citizen of a democratic state is guaranteed against the abuse of police power.

One of the most interesting and imaginative papers deals with the question of research. It is a paper which will bring little comfort to those brass hats in Washington who want to give back to the army full control over atomic energy. After indicating the necessity of research being carried on by the international agency, as well as by national bodies, the report says:

> The final test of the value of the international agency is that it should prevent national rivalries in atomic energy which would lead to war. National rivalries breed in secrecy. The success of the international agency will depend to a very large extent on its ability to open scientific knowledge in the field of atomic energy to the world, with a full, free, and constant exchange of scientific knowledge. . . . There are no limitations on human thought, hence there can be no secrets as far as ideas are concerned. It is by control of the actual materials, not by the prohibition of research, that their misuse can be prevented; the strict control of all potentially dangerous materials must be the central objective of the agency. Once this is fully achieved, the futility of secrecy would be evident, and there could be full publication of research and full international collaboration among the scientists.

We have become used to thinking of the atomic world as a prison. The best we hoped for was to have friendly and reliable wardens who would keep us safe if any of the other prisoners ran amuck. These Atomic Energy Commission reports suggest that our world may turn out to be not too dreary a place after all—with a ban on secrecy, a respect for individual rights, and the first prize given for the freest discussion of the brightest ideas. They even suggest values higher than security and that's more than most of us have dared to grasp at during the last two years, dating back from this August 6.

# *What Britain Faces*

ABOUT the time this issue of *The Nation* appears, Prime Minister Attlee will be presenting to the House of Commons the British government's plans for meeting the rapidly developing financial crisis. Signs and portents of that crisis have been multiplying in recent weeks. Record drafts, totaling $700,000,000, were made in July on the American loan, leaving a balance of only $1,000,000,000. British exports are still expanding, but are hardly in sight of the point at which the deficit on international payments would be wiped out. Moreover, as Keith Hutchison points out on page 144, the growing scarcity of dollars is encouraging the widespread restriction of imports and hitting British as well as American goods. Coal production in Britain continues to lag, and it is increasingly unlikely that this year's target of 200,000,000 tons—the bare minimum for essential needs—will be met. On the London Stock Exchange, prices of industrial stocks and government bonds alike have slumped heavily.

Another factor in the situation is the dispersal of Congress without any plans for a special session in the fall. This has made it clear to Britain that, whatever the ultimate fate of the Marshall proposals, no new American contributions to European recovery can be counted upon before 1948. And by that time, barring drastic measures, the American and Canadian loans would be fully spent and a start made on the dissipation of Britain's last-ditch gold reserve.

It is interesting to note that some influential British commentators believe that postponement of hopes of further American assistance has a positive value. While such hopes lingered, they feel, neither the nation nor the government was ready to face squarely the grim facts of Britain's situation. Now there can be no further evasion; the tight belt must be pulled in several more notches. The government has been getting plenty of advice about how to achieve this end, both from its back-bench supporters and from the opposition. Particular stress is laid by the former on shrinkage of the armed forces, cutting down luxury imports, and deflationary fiscal measures such as taxation of capital gains. The Tories, who have been blowing hot and cold on austerity, agree that imports must be cut but are apt to object strongly to any particular cut. They are almost certain to oppose both worthwhile reductions in the armed forces and new taxes.

Facing the task of slicing overseas expenditure by 25 per cent, the government is likely to take leaves from both books. Mr. Attlee outlined his plans this week to a private meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party and, it is reported, fully satisfied his back-bench critics. That must mean that he has agreed, in part at least, to their

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proposals for speeding up demobilization and sharply reducing garrisons abroad. As a result, some economies in the use of foreign exchange for the maintenance of foreign service troops will be possible and, what is more important, many men can be returned to production.

Action of this kind will have, of course, political as well as economic implications. What will be the effects of halving the British garrison in Germany, of withdrawing all British troops from Greece and Italy? What will happen if Britain fixes a date for pulling out of Palestine altogether? What will be the result if Britain declares its inability to contribute to the German food program which is eating heavily into its dollar resources? These are all questions that both the American government and the American people need to ponder deeply. Our policies have been based on the assumption that Britain could maintain itself as one of the Big Three. Now it has reached a position where commitments of that status are beyond its means.

Britain's sacrifice of international prestige and authority will certainly be accompanied by more immediately painful sacrifices at home. Present imports must be slashed even though almost any cut will come near to the bone, for food and raw materials form the vast bulk of Britain's foreign purchases. Some luxury foodstuffs can be omitted, but they are a minor item. Film imports are likely to be drastically reduced. Foreign travel allotments are due for sharp trimming. But when these more obvious economies have been made, imports will still be too heavy for Britain's purse, and it is difficult to see how basic food supplies can be maintained at their present level. One way or another, the British seem destined to pass from a lean to a tender diet.

Will they take it, these people who have been patiently taking it in one form or another for so long? We believe that they will, subject to two provisos. The government must lay all its cards on the table, making it crystal clear just what the crisis means and how it can be overcome. The government must stick firmly to the principle of equality of sacrifice; it must not ask for abstinence from the British workers and allow the fruits of that abstinence to be reaped by private enterprise.

# *Poland Today*

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

## I. Reconstruction and Progress

*Warsaw, August 1*

OF ALL the war-scarred countries of Europe, Poland has made the most remarkable recovery. It is the more impressive because the destruction in Poland was greater than in any of the other occupied countries, with the exception of the occupied parts of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Poland has been "shifted" several hundred miles to the west, and has had to assimilate large new territories. The loss of the non-Polish territories in the east is not greatly regretted—except for Vilno and, especially, Lwow. Few Poles really felt that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands—the areas of the great estates—were an inalienable part of Poland. But Poles today are unanimous in agreeing on the excellence of the Oder-Neisse line. Poland "looks good on the map"; it forms almost a regular circle; it is compact and, with the loss of the eastern lands and the expulsion of the Germans from the west, it has no longer any of those minority problems which weakened Poland between the two wars. The westward shift has changed the whole basis of Poland's economy; it will no longer be a great grain-growing country. Instead, it will become one of the major dairy-farming, stock-breeding, industrial countries of the Continent; and it is felt that, in the balance, Poland will have gained.

The people have a sharp urge to make a success of their coherent and economically harmonious country. Six years of the most humiliating and brutal occupation have demoralized Poland less than almost any other nation in Europe, Russia not excepted. In France, the occupation, though shorter and less horrible, had a deeper and more pernicious effect. This Polish vitality and a sort of innate optimism are among the factors that explain Poland's recovery. Another is the indisputable efficiency of the government. Thirdly, UNRRA's $500,000,000, and Swedish and other relief activities, have been important aids.

Not that the Poles were not demoralized, at first. When I was in Lublin in 1944, nearly everybody was leading as degrading a black-market, hand-to-mouth existence as during the occupation. I saw Poland again in the summer of 1945. The country was still in a state of deep political ferment and near economic chaos, though order was gradually beginning to take shape. But Warsaw was a heap of rubble; so also were Gdansk (Danzig), Poznan, and the newly acquired Wroclaw (Breslau); the railroads were almost entirely out of commission, due to the wrecking of bridges and the lines themselves, and the lack of rolling stock. Even the miners of Silesia were very poorly fed, not to mention the urban population generally. There was still a powerful underground, and little internal security. There was some banditry then,

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even in the streets of Warsaw and Cracow, and the country was just beginning to face the baffling problem of what to do with the large western territories from which most of the Germans had been expelled. At that time, I saw the first Polish settlers on the Neisse; they had come from around Lwow, and with little or no cattle or inventory, they looked wretched and bewildered. All around them, for miles, there was nothing but abandoned German farms. Today, four million Poles have been settled there, and the area has become perhaps the greatest showpiece of post-war Europe. The ports of Gdynia and Gdansk, then completely wrecked, are now almost restored.

ALTOGETHER, the change in two years has been striking. Traffic of goods on the railways is greater than in pre-war Poland; though passenger carriages are still short, freight cars are more numerous than before 1939. Many of these are German, but many others—along with the locomotives—have been built by the great rolling-stock works at Wroclaw, the restoration of which was, somewhat in the Russian style, proclaimed to be the proudest achievement of Polish industry in 1946.

You see feverish reconstruction activity everywhere: the miners and railwaymen and textile workers have labored with immense devotion; land reform has passed off quite smoothly. There are still food shortages and, worse still, the after effects of past food shortages of the 1939-46 period. Seven per cent of Warsaw's population is tubercular. But though many people are living most miserably, especially in some of the large towns, Poland does not rank as one of the very hungry countries of Europe. (Even so, the State Department's decision to stop post-UNRRA relief is a severe blow.) And perhaps most important of all, there is today almost complete internal peace in Poland.

I traveled in a car all over Polish East Prussia and large parts of Byalystok province—areas which a year ago were considered highly dangerous. Now, seldom anything unpleasant happens there. The amnesty in February virtually ended the activity of the rightist bands—that underground which for a long time was being encouraged so foolishly by certain Allied diplomats in the name of "democracy." Nearly 60,000 men laid down their arms and went back to civilian life. The government believes that most of them have given up the struggle for good—though the police no doubt continue to keep an eye on some. The amnesty was decisive in putting a formal end to the bands, but their disintegration was already foreshadowed by the rapidly diminishing support they were receiving from the peasants, who had grown more and more tired of the civil-war atmosphere the bands were creating in many parts of Poland. There was also a growing consciousness among the peasantry, as among all other Poles, that the government was "getting things done." Though the government may not be loved—indeed it is disliked by the greater part of the peasantry, the small shopkeepers, and, of course, the "disinherited" classes—it commands very great respect.

Some will say that Poland has recovered "in spite" of the people in power, but everyone knows that the organizing ability of the government and its clearness of vision have been just as important as the hard work done by the workers and peasants. A striking feature is also the relatively high efficiency of the bureaucracy. Poland's new planned economy has created many difficult problems, but the officials I interviewed never showed any signs of vague fumbling. They were precise, to the point, and produced facts and figures at a moment's notice. I was struck by this even in small-town cooperatives and among minor officials working under the *wojewoda* (provincial governor). Many of these were young men who had more or less wasted their time during the occupation. The Poles have a natural quickness, and intelligence well above the average. The Communists are particularly hard-working and efficient—on the whole, a good deal more so than their Russian opposite numbers.

And it must be said that Polish Communists give the impression of being Poles first and foremost, Communists only next, and pro-Russians last and sometimes not at all. Many say that they want Poland to acquire certain but by no means all of the features of Soviet economy. A large number of Poles are attracted to the P. P. R. (Communist Party) because it has the best organizing brains at its head. It is significant that many of the P. P. R. ministers were at first as eager as the others to respond favorably to the Bevin-Bidault invitation to come to the Paris conference on the Marshall plan. But that is another story.

Of course, the Polish Government is not strictly democratic, according to Western standards. Although no government spokesman will admit it, many a government supporter will confess that the election was not "quite straight." But he will use this argument: "It was a question of whether Poland was to rise from its ruins or not. Were we to leave the decision to a few million ignorant, priest-ridden peasants? Were we to have a Mikolajczyk government, followed before long by a completely reactionary government, which would have inevitably bred internal strife? There would have been no planning; there would have been chaos similar to what you have in Greece; and, in the end, the Russians, for their own protection, might have brought irresistible pressure to bear on Poland, if not actually occupied it. We had to seize the chance to show what we could do with Poland, and before very long we are going to be gratefully accepted by the majority of the people."

[*Mr. Werth's next article will describe Poland's planned economy and the achievements of its Communist Minister of Industry, Hilary Minc.*]

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# Hell, High Water, and the MVA

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

*St. Louis, July 28*

THE big street-cleaning trucks, moving along hub to hub, have washed the last reminders of the worst Missouri River flood since 1844 from the cobble-stoned levee at St. Louis. But above and below the city, for hundreds of miles, the corn fields are still covered by alluvial mud. Farmers are shoveling silt out of their homes and spraying houses and outbuildings with disinfectants. The ruined crops of their bottom lands are typical of the losses which, according to the United States Soil Conservation Service, ran to more than $900,000,000 in the three states of Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois alone. This includes $491,000,000 worth of topsoil washed out of America's bread-basket and sluiced into the Gulf of Mexico.

Exclusive of topsoil, floods have cost the Missouri Valley more than one billion dollars in the last forty-five years, according to the Weather Bureau and the Army Engineers. But excepting the 800 lives lost, it is the stripping away of the crop-producing soil that is the great tragedy. Nor is this of concern merely to remote posterity. A rich farming section can be destroyed in twenty-five years. Of this, there is evidence enough in the Missouri valley. The region long has been declining in productivity and population. With major floods now virtually an annual occurrence, it is time for a new approach to the harnessing of the Big Muddy, one that will stop this heavy drain on the resources of the nation.

That approach has been demonstrated in the valley of the Tennessee. Experienced engineers are sure that the TVA idea can be applied to the much larger Missouri basin. The valley's decline can be checked only by a regional authority, with full control over irrigation, flood prevention, power development, and the intelligent exploitation of natural resources. The late President Roosevelt was an ardent supporter of the MVA idea, but his successor has given it only lip-service. Even the latest floods were not enough to move him beyond that.

Mr. Truman spoke highly of the MVA idea at a recent press conference, but a few days later, when he asked Congress for increased appropriations for immediate work on the Missouri, he fell back upon the old pattern of divided authority which has been more successful in setting one federal agency against another than in solving the problems of the valley. He proposed a ten-year program with an expenditure of $250,000,000 in the next twelve months, urging that this be authorized without taking time to decide whether or not a valley authority should be created. That he dismissed as an administrative detail. It would be enough, he said, to allow the work to be taken over by such an authority some time in the future.

What the President urged on Congress is a stepping-up of the so-called Pick-Sloan plan. This sprang from a marriage of convenience, hastily contracted between the Army Engineers and the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation in 1944, whose purpose was to head off the first drive in Congress, by Senator Murray of Montana and the late Representative Cochran of Missouri, for the incorporation of a Missouri Valley Authority. Few have questioned the personal competence of the authors of this "plan," but any success they may have in coping with the Missouri will come in spite of the administrative hodge-podge in which they must work. Since the turn of the century, more than $500,000,000 has been spent on the river, with little now to show for the money except the determination of the various agencies to maintain their interests in the stream and its valley. The Pick-Sloan plan has not put a stop to bickering between the navigation-minded Engineers and the irrigation-minded Bureau of Reclamation. The argument as to whether the Garrison Dam in North Dakota should be high or low is one example of the disagreements that crop up.

There are also other federal agencies, including the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Power Commission, and the Department of Commerce, which exercise some measure of authority in connection with the river. Differences are supposed to be worked out through the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, made up of representatives of the various agencies and the governors of the valley states. The rather infrequent meetings of the committee, however, are little more than debates. It has not the power to push a unified plan. There may even be differences within its constituent agencies, since these are not organized on a valley-wide basis. And, of course, all of these agencies are headed up, in Washington, by men with many other concerns beside those of the Missouri valley. Simply to contrast this divided, inefficient set-up with that of the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville, is to emphasize TVA's superiority. The Missouri Valley needs a similar agency, located in the valley, working with the people of the valley for a common solution of the problems of the valley.

*ERNEST KIRSCHTEN is editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis* Star-Times.

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The chief opponents of the MVA idea are the private power interests, the railroads, cattlemen with their eyes on public lands, and such old-line pressure groups as the Mississippi Valley Association, the National Reclamation Association, and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. These are always ready to defend their favorites among the established agencies. In doing so, they defend their own pork-barrel interests up and down the river. Their chief stocks in trade are (a) the silly argument that MVA is "communistic"—though even the New York *Daily News* favors it; (b) that methods successful in the Tennessee Valley cannot be used in that of the Missouri; and (c) that there *is* no MVA plan, so that the choice between this idea and the Pick-Sloan plan is a choice between a pipe dream and a blueprint. The knowledge is spreading through the valley, however, that these propagandists are less devoted to the Pick-Sloan plan than they are opposed to MVA. There have been hints that they are ready to drop the one as soon as they can be sure that the threat of the other has been eliminated.

These facts—plus the mounting toll of an uncontrolled river—is gradually building up substantial support for MVA in the valley. The idea is also gaining distinguished editorial support throughout the United States. The Washington *Post* recently pointed out that the bill for the Midwest's rampaging rivers in a single season is almost as great as the total cost of the TVA; the paper emphasized that, through the sale of power, TVA pays an annual dividend of about $10,000,000 into the Treasury, in addition to its other benefits. So the *Post* concluded that the time has come to apply the same principles to the Missouri, instead of leaving it to the haphazard patchwork of the past which often has controlled the river at one point only to make it more dangerous at another.

This argument, pointing as it does to better crops and more factories for the valley, seems so logical that it is a little difficult to understand how even the current Republican Congress can resist it. But the resistance is as real as the flood damage, real enough apparently to convince the President that this is not the year to put up a fight for MVA. Still, as one watches a third Murray bill gathering dust, one recalls that it took the late Senator Norris fifteen years—from 1918 to 1933—to win his campaign for a TVA. Each time the flood waters rise in the valley of the Missouri they teach their lesson more explicitly and more expensively. It is inconceivable that it should be indefinitely ignored. With ever wider understanding of the promise of a Missouri Valley Authority, surely the American people will not let their bread-basket be turned into a desert.

# *The Audacity of Aneurin Bevan*

BY ROBERT T. McKENZIE

NO FIGURE better represents the vigorous sincerity of British socialism than Aneurin (pronounced "A-nye-rin") Bevan, Minister of Health, who is also responsible for the government's housing program. Till 1945, his seemed to be the stormy career of the permanent dissenter. A pure proletarian type, he emerged from the pits of Wales to become a hero of the intellectual left. Expelled from the Labor Party in 1939 for his advocacy, in defiance of the party executive, of a popular front against Chamberlain, he spent most of his energies during the war years assailing the Churchill coalition for its refusal to overthrow vested interests in the prosecution of the war and for its willingness to override British liberties in the name of national unity. Churchill, in turn, coined some of his most searing phrases in his repeated denunciations of the irreconcilable Bevan, referring to him as "this squalid nuisance" and "the chief architect of disloyalty in war time."

As a member of the Labor government, Bevan has developed into a brilliant Socialist administrator and parliamentarian. Commenting on the speech in which he presented his National Health bill to the Commons, the Manchester *Guardian* conceded that he was the ablest orator in the House, Mr. Churchill not excluded. The authoritative and well-informed *Economist,* in reviewing the first year of the government's work, acknowledged that Bevan's reputation had risen more rapidly than that of any other Cabinet minister except perhaps Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

These tributes are the more surprising when one recalls that Bevan, the son of a coal miner, was a shy, bookish boy troubled by a severe stammer. He is the youngest member of the government, having been born in 1897. At thirteen, he left school to work in the pits, but he always read voraciously, particularly in the field of philosophy. He might almost have been the prototype

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of the young hero in Emlyn Williams's "The Corn Is Green," for his earliest opportunity for self-education came through the interest taken in his intellectual development by the librarian of the Tredegar public library. He gradually overcame his stammer by throwing himself with Welsh enthusiasm into street-corner debates.

While he was still in his 'teens, Bevan left the pits to study at the Central Labor College. When only nineteen, he was elected chairman of one of the largest miners' lodges in South Wales. After some years as a union agent, he was elected, at thirty-two, to the House of Commons. With this working-class background, he might have been expected to become a leader among the trade-union members, who form the conservative wing of the party. Instead, they soon came to look on him as a rather dangerous firebrand, never restrained by party or union loyalties from attacking ineptitude or fatuity wherever he found it. For some years, he edited the *Tribune*, a London weekly which under his direction became the most forthright Socialist critic of the Churchill coalition.

After the Communist Party had pursued its revolutionary defeatist line through the winter of the blitz in 1940-41, and the popular front had become a dead issue, Bevan reapplied for readmission to the Labor Party. He had the wit to realize that however irksome the requirements of party loyalty, a British Socialist had no future outside the party. When the cautious Attlee, long the butt of Bevan's assaults, came to form his government, everyone was eager to see how he would handle the party's brilliant Welsh problem child. Would Clem leave "Nye" Bevan outside the Cabinet and run the risk of his becoming a dangerously effective critic, or would he take him into the government and risk his becoming a belligerent and perhaps irreconcilable member of the team? Attlee, with more audacity than most people expected, not only put Bevan in the important post of Minister of Health but gave him in addition the vital and enormously difficult job of heading the housing drive.

*Aneurin Bevan*

As Minister of Health, Bevan had the delicate task of reconciling the widespread popular demand for a full program of state medicine with the deep suspicion and hostility of the British Medical Association to such a proposal. His success to date has startled his most devoted admirers. He has piloted through the Commons with consummate skill a bill to promote what is probably the most comprehensive system of virtually free public medicine that has ever been established in a democratic society.

The National Health Service Act, which goes into effect in July of 1948, establishes a universal health service—under the National Insurance plan but subject to no limitations in benefits. This service includes general practitioner and specialist treatment, hospitalization, drugs and medicine, eye examinations and spectacles, dental treatment and dentures, hearing aids, and ambulance service. All the present voluntary and public hospitals will be reorganized into a publicly owned hospital system to be administered by regional hospital boards. The doctors are to be permitted to decide whether or not they wish to practice under the act, and patients may choose their own "family doctor." Doctors entering this scheme will be remunerated by a combination of flat basic salary and "capitation fees" based on the number of patients who voluntarily register with the doctor.

The British Medical Association, representing by far the largest body of organized medical practitioners, long claimed that the scheme would do irreparable damage to the existing doctor-patient relationship and that arbitrary powers would be left in the hands of the Minister of Health. During December, 1946, the association took a poll of its members on the question whether it should enter into negotiations with the Minister regarding the implementation of the act. Forty-four per cent voted in favor of negotiations and 56 per cent against. But in January, the B. M. A. resoundingly reversed itself, by a vote of 252 to 17, and agreed to negotiate with the Minister "on condition that the possibility of fresh legislation was not excluded."

As head of the housing drive, Bevan must deal with the toughest domestic problem the government faces. Of the 13,000,000 dwellings in Britain at the outbreak of war, 210,000 were totally destroyed, 250,000 rendered uninhabitable, and almost 4,500,000 damaged. In addition, of course, repair and replacement, and the long overdue slum clearance which might have been carried out in the past seven years, were left undone. And the housing drive must be undertaken in the face of acute shortages of man-power and housing materials. All parties have agreed on an immediate target of 750,000 houses which must be built quickly.

The most recent figures—to May 30, 1947—show that 210,874 new houses have been provided, of which 89,131 are permanent and 110,029 are temporary—that is, aluminum or other structures intended to last for not more than ten years. About 10,000 war-damaged dwellings have been completely rebuilt and some emergency huts provided for government workers and others. No

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one, not even Bevan himself, is completely satisfied with these figures. The Conservatives assert that Bevan, out of doctrinal prejudice, has hamstrung the work of private builders. Bevan replies that his first concern is for the less well-to-do sections of the population, in whom the private builder is not particularly interested; consequently, he has given every encouragement to the local authorities to plan permanent houses to rent to the working classes. So far, the only claim Bevan makes is that he "will wager any amount" housing will not be a major issue when the government comes up for reelection in 1950. No one in the Labor Party has suggested that anyone else would have tackled the problem with more vigor and imagination or less respect for vested interests.

In temperament, Bevan is robust, full of good humor and the most spontaneous friendliness. Few public men are so little awed by rank or pretensions or so genuninely interested in the activities of the most humble. As for his home life, he has literally found that in politics, for he has married one of Britain's most brilliant women M. P.'s, Miss Jennie Lee—no one dares call her Mrs. Bevan. Miss Lee had a political career well under way when she married "Nye," and on her return to the Commons in 1945, she regained, on a completely independent basis, her role as one of the most vigorous and forthright Socialists on the back benches. It may not be altogether an accident that "Nye" is widely considered to be the voice of the back benches within the government.

Like many another Welshman, Bevan has been a frequent victim of his own sharp tongue and his ability to coin a bitter phrase. In a warm personal discussion, he frequently talks himself into the most impossible positions or delivers himself of quite unforgivable denunciations of those with whom he disagrees. In the House, he has of late largely overcome this habit. As a minister, he increasingly relies on a closely reasoned argument or trenchant refutation of his political enemy's case.

If the government runs into really deep water with any of its nationalization proposals, and appears to falter in its intentions, then watch "Nye" Bevan. He is the natural popular leader of the party in a crisis. Should "MacDonaldism" ever show its head in the Cabinet, Bevan, yesterday's firebrand, might be tomorrow's Prime Minister. After all, he still has twenty or twenty-five years of political life ahead.

# *Who's a Nazi in Bavaria?*

BY MELTON S. DAVIS

HERBERT GESSNER was a commentator on Radio Munich, which is operated by the U. S. Office of Military Government for Bavaria. Being young, ardently anti-Nazi, and an excellent legman, he dug up all sorts of facts and figures which, to put it mildly, did not always reflect well on the C. S. U. (the Christian Social Union).

One of his targets was Dr. Anton Pfeiffer, chief of the Special Ministry (for denazification) of Bavaria. The former chief, a Communist, had been eased out of the job for several reasons. No one denied his zeal or his honesty, but his ineptitude in administration, his inability to persuade Bavarians to convict their own people, and the increasing strength of the C. S. U. vote forced the issue. Pfeiffer, a strong C. S. U. man, took over the job. He was an able administrator, but according to Gessner—and others—his zeal was a little open to question. Gessner charged that the Pfeiffer family had been quite comfortable under the Nazis; in fact, one of the boys had belonged to the S. A.

Denazification Minister Pfeiffer, said the commentator, had dismissed anti-Nazis from government positions but had kept party members on the pay roll. One of his key prosecutors used to do the same kind of work for the Nazis in Berlin.

In one internment camp run by Pfeiffer, members of of the denazification court and the inmates they were trying lived together. Nazis and men who might be called neutral Germans, neither pro- nor anti-Nazi, sat on most of the denazification boards, though the Law for Liberation from National Socialism specified that cases were to be heard by *anti-fascist* Germans.

Finally, Gessner, in a burst of indignation, threatened to resign if Pfeiffer did not. Thereupon the entire German Cabinet of Bavaria, sensitive souls all, sent in their resignations. But in a supposed attempt to bolster self-government in Bavaria, Military Government accepted Gessner's resignation and refused the others. Brigadier General Walter J. Muller, head of M. G. in Bavaria, told the Cabinet that they would have to get used to press and radio criticism.

It was about this time that General Clay made his statement about the disgraceful handling of denazification after it had been turned over to the Germans. Württemberg-Baden was satisfactory; Greater Hesse was not too bad; this obviously left Bavaria and Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer admitted that from 60 to 80 per cent of the sentences were far too light. As a matter of fact, the

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American Military Government's quite lenient policy on denazification was 76 per cent too harsh for the Bavarians. They completely exonerated more than three out of every four public officials cited by the United States as having been such thorough Nazis that they must immediately be removed from office.

The International Committee for the Study of European Questions reported in February of this year that in Bavaria, "out of nearly a million dossiers drawn up against the Nazis, nearly 950,000 had not been examined at the beginning of the autumn of 1946." The subjects of most of the others had either been acquitted or had served their light prison sentences by that time.

A flurry of activity followed the issuance of the report. Men who had been staunch Nazi Party members, even S. S. members, were put in the mild "follower" classification and fined 500 or 600 marks ($50 or $60).

FOLLOWING its victory at the polls, the Christian Social Union held a party conference. Dr. Josef Müller, who had been ordered before a denazification board, was reelected head of the party. Pfeiffer was chosen as C. S. U. candidate for the office of Minister President, but refused to run. Müller was then nominated but failed to get a majority. Finally, the fifty-nine-year-old Hans Ehard, a moderate C. S. U. member, was elected.

Dr. Ehard has an interesting background. During most of the Hitler regime, he was president of the Erbhofgericht, a court which handles entailed estates, and senate president of the Oberlandgericht of Munich, all under Nazi supervision. He was elected with the help of the Economic Reconstruction Party (Wirtschaftliche Aufbau Vereinung) of Dr. Alfred Loritz.

This group, which is rapidly taking on a bully-boy coloring, was characterized by Delbert Clark in the New York *Times* for June 1 as a "fascist-spirited collection of malcontents surprisingly reminiscent of Hitler's orginal crew . . . whose announced program includes most of the fundamental principles on which fascist governments are based." At one of their meetings, a press-association photographer was barred and members attempted forcibly to take his camera away. Loritz said, "The almighty power of the press must be broken."

Yet Loritz was appointed Denazification Minister by Ehard; Loritz, whom a Reuter dispatch *last year* (November 12) called "Bavaria's new Führer." Almost immediately, he filed a number of indictments against widows. Among them were Frau Siegfried Wagner, whose husband was director of the Bayreuth opera, Frau Erich von Ludendorff, Frau Himmler, Frau Göring, Frau Fritz Sauckel, Frau Wilhelm Frick, and Frau Hans Frank. Two wives of imprisoned Nazis were also on this list, Frau Baldur von Schirach and Frau Funk, wife of the former Economics Minister, Walther Funk. Emmy Göring is too ill to walk, let alone appear. Frau Himmler is in an insane asylum. However, Frau Sauckel was tried. She was fined 1,000 marks, the black-market price of a carton of Lucky Strikes.

The four civilian internment camps, which were turned over to the Germans in March, have been under Loritz's supervision. As soon as Bavarians were in charge, the number of escapes shot up. At Regensburg, there were twenty-six escapes in thirty-seven days. Under the United States army, there had been not a single one. The Regensburg camp has been called a "Nazi paradise." An investigation by the Bavarian government revealed that the adviser to the camp denazification board was a former major general in the S. S. The people interned there—former Nazi big shots and members of the nobility—were running the camp, and ordering around the Germans who were supposed to be supervising them. The latter were paid in American cigarettes. Large-scale smuggling, bribery, and counterfeiting of American occupation scrip, ration cards, and passports went gaily on. The Berlin *Telegraf*, a Socialist paper, sarcastically noted, "You have to admit that the Nazis have good connections."

One of Loritz's assistants, since resigned, recently admitted that hundreds of thousands of amnesty certificates had been issued to persons not entitled to them.

On June 1, the International Committee for the Study of European Questions issued another report on the Nazis in Germany. Again, Bavaria was singled out for censure. Though the situation had not stirred Military Government to action, it proved too much for Loritz's own followers to swallow. On June 21, they moved to oust him from the chairmanship of his Economic Reconstruction Party. Three days later, Minister President Ehard finally fired him.

The International Committee's report charged that the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture alone had five former members of the Nazi Party in key posts. The Minister of Economics, Dr. Zorn, courageously defended his people by putting the blame on the D. P.'s, whom he called "the most vicious of the insects that infest the German body." Another member of the democratic Bavarian Cabinet is Dr. Alois Hundhammer, leader of the monarchist and separatist groups in the C. S. U. As Minister of Education, he has just reintroduced the caning of school children.

Munich's cafes are full of unemployed. In the Cafe Rheinland, an active black market is carried on at about half the tables. Young men in their twenties frequent the cafe, and if you listened you might hear them talking about Hugo Männer, whose body, wrapped in a gunny sack, was recently found in the Isar Canal. He had had the temerity to testify against some of Bavaria's Nazis.

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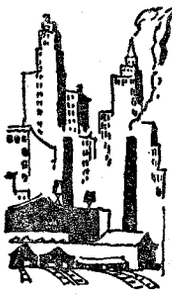

# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Latin American Trade Troubles

IT IS not only United States trade with Europe that is threatened by scarcity of dollars. Our Latin American neighbors, who have enormously increased their purchases from this country since the war ended, are beginning to eye their diminishing reserves of gold and foreign exchange with some alarm, and are taking steps to reduce the demands on them. Thus, within the past three months, Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico have all moved to cut down imports of foreign goods.

Yet in contrast to Europe, Latin America as a whole was able greatly to improve its financial position during the war. Its minerals and other raw materials were in almost unlimited demand at high prices and, in some countries, the United States spent large sums directly on the construction and maintenance of airfields. At the same time, imports were held down since, with American and British factories concentrated on war production, the manufactured goods which Latin America normally imports were simply not available. Consequently, most nations south of the border enjoyed "favorable" trade balances and were able to build up their reserves of gold and foreign currencies, including dollars.

The wartime boom in Latin American exports, however, had its unhealthy aspects. It led to a great expansion of incomes and currency circulation at a time when supplies of goods, and particularly imported articles, were very short. The natural result was an inflationary rise in prices.

By V-J Day, Latin Americans were relatively well supplied with cash and eager to spend it. The new rich, who had profited from the war boom, were eager customers for American automobiles and refrigerators; workers wanted textiles, foodstuffs, and pots and pans; industrialists were in urgent need of tools, steel, chemicals, and so forth. During the war years, factory and transportation equipment had been worn out or become obsolete. Moreover, the economic difficulties arising from the conflict had stimulated the desire for greater industrialization, and nearly all Latin American countries had plans for the fuller development of their resources.

When civilian goods began once again to roll off our production lines, Latin American buyers crowded the sales office. In a very short time, a complete shift in the wartime pattern of trade had occurred. In 1945, our purchases from Latin America still overbalanced shipments by $360,000,000; in 1946, we had an export surplus of $340,000,000. But this was only a beginning, for, in the first three months of this year, our exports to Latin America exceeded imports from there by no less than $402,000,000. Should this deficit continue at the same rate throughout the year, it would mean a draft on Latin American reserves of $1,608,000,000. Since, at the beginning of 1947, these reserves amounted only to some $5,000,000,000, it is clear that the current rate of exhaustion cannot safely be maintained.

The situation is all the more serious, from the point of view of most Latin American governments, because they have been exchanging their assets for consumer goods, rather than for the capital items they require to strengthen their national economies. Of course, all the world is clamoring for goods of the same kind—steel, freight cars and locomotives, power-house equipment, pipe, machinery of every sort. Domestic needs are far from being filled and only a trickle has been available for Europe. According to Washington officials, Latin America has, in fact, been given preferential treatment in export allotments. Be that as it may, the supply of capital goods has fallen far short of demand, while United States exporters have been able to offer increasing quantities of automobiles, electrical appliances, textiles, cosmetics, drugs, and other consumer goods.

Latin American planners have thus some reason to fear that, by the time it becomes possible to procure machinery without difficulty, their resources may be dissipated. That is why a number of countries have recently placed embargoes on some non-essential imports, or limited the amount of foreign exchange made available for their purchase. Brazil, which is following the second of these techniques, gives priority exchange-licenses to machinery, raw materials, and other industrial goods, and forces importers of less urgent items to wait their turn. Argentina has banned automobile imports until the end of the year. Mexico has embargoed foreign automobiles, radios, refrigerators, fine fabrics, jewelry, cosmetics, and furs, and raised tariffs on canned fish, rayon, flashlights, buttons, and a number of other articles.

While some of these measures may have been inspired by the desire of local manufacturers for increased protection, they are, in the main, justified by the yawning gap between exports to and imports from the United States—a gap which must be reduced if a real financial crisis is to be avoided. The most satisfactory way of achieving this end would be an expansion of Latin American exports. But while sales to this country have improved somewhat in the first five months of 1947, there seems little hope of an increase comparable to the increase in imports. Moreover, two measures just passed by Congress tend to discourage Latin American exports. The sugar bill, which I discussed last week, is certainly going to reduce Cuban purchasing power, while continuation of subsidies to low-grade mines is likely to diminish somewhat the demand for Latin American metals.

What about increases in exports to other parts of the world? Is it possible for Latin America to earn additional dollars by greater sales to Europe? Unfortunately, most European countries are being forced to cut imports to the bone and many of them, in any case, can only pay in currencies which cannot be converted into dollars. Besides, the steps taken to block off North American imports serve equally to restrict imports from Europe. For instance, if Chile bans our automobiles, it must also—in order to avoid discrimination—refuse to buy British and French models. This, in turn, reduces British and French ability to purchase Chilean copper and nitrates. In the present lop-sided state of the world economy, the principle of equal commercial treatment for all nations, desirable as it is in normal times, may tend to reduce the total volume of international trade rather than to increase it.

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# *Del Vayo*—Why Molotov Went Home

IN MY last article, I said that the only alternative to the present disastrous two-worlds policy was to refer to the United Nations the problem of reviewing Europe's economy, which should never have been removed from its jurisdiction. This proposal makes sense only if we assume that Russia is prepared to cooperate in the reconstruction of Europe. If, on the contrary, we believe Moscow has no intention of cooperating under any circumstances, United Nations action is meaningless—but in that case, Bidault might have spared himself the trouble of inviting Molotov to Paris.

Contrary to the theory that Molotov came to the conference determined in advance to say no, I suggest he was inclined rather to say yes, and that an agreement "in principle" to a joint effort for Europe's rehabilitation had been approved in Moscow. I cannot identify the source of my information, but I think I can reconstruct what happened in Paris on July 1 and explain why Molotov packed his bags, after a telephone conversation with Moscow, and quit Paris, along with his eighty-odd experts.

So far, the public has been offered two reasons why Molotov went home. The first blames Bevin for having failed to include the Russians in his exploratory discussions with France. The British Foreign Minister changed his tactics only after Bidault informed him France would not join in calling the Economic Conference unless the Soviet Union were invited to participate from the start. The British attitude was hardly calculated to win initial Russian good-will. The second reason has to do with the question of inventories: an important aim of the Paris conference was to obtain from all the member countries a list of the resources at their disposal for fulfilment of the Marshall plan. The Soviet Union was reluctant, it is said, to make public its whole economic situation at the possible cost of its bargaining position.

But there is still a third explanation, the most important one—Germany. If my information is correct, what happened was this: the Soviet Foreign Minister discovered that Washington had already, in advance of the meeting, drawn its plans for the "leveling-up" of German production. He learned that Marshall was resolved to make Germany the keystone of his whole program. All this without consulting any of his allies except the British.

Of course, Molotov had known all along that an influential sector of official Washington saw eye to eye with General Clay, who favored putting the Western zone on its feet again regardless of previous agreements among the occupation powers. As far back as last summer in Moscow, I heard Russian officials discussing Clay's intention. The Americans, I was told, apparently looked upon Germans as potential allies and were ready to use all sorts—the list of *persona grata* ranged from wily old crooks like Schacht to exalted Socialist patriots like Schumacher. Molotov didn't need to travel to Paris to learn that the ace card of the stop-Russia strategists was a strong Germany.

However, it was possible for him to hope that, since the German settlement was scheduled for discussion at the Foreign Ministers' conference in London next November, it would not be incorporated into the Marshall plan without discussion. Nor did he expect that the rebuilding of Germany would take precedence over that of the nations Germany had destroyed. His discovery that the plan of European economic cooperation was predicated upon the Clay directive made Molotov decide to pull out, even at the risk of having to accept responsibility for "splitting Europe." In the light of Russian tactics ever since San Francisco, his abrupt departure was for most observers an inexplicable *volte-face*. The solemn Paris *Monde* noted with surprise that "for the first time, Soviet diplomacy has been lacking in suppleness." Molotov chose to be inflexible rather than to proceed on the basis of an accomplished fact which carried with it the danger of assisting in the revival of a Junker-fascist Germany.

That Molotov was not merely seeing ghosts in Paris is confirmed by the words of former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, in the *Herald Tribune* of July 29:

> A few days ago, the State, War, and Navy Departments issued a directive to our military commander in Germany to carry out a new plan that would raise industrial capacity in the American and British occupation zones far above the limits set by the Potsdam agreement. It was only after the French government had protested vehemently, and after the British had indicated their reluctance, that the State Department instructed General Clay to postpone enforcement of the industrial plan until the Paris conference had rendered its final report.

In this atmosphere of multilateral distrust, only the United Nations could prevent an early rupture over the question of aid to Europe. Yet the world organization was ignored, first in the Truman Doctrine, second in the Marshall plan, and third in the directive to General Clay. Clark M. Eichelberger, speaking for the American Association of the United Nations, proposes that the Marshall plan be administered by the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe. That is where it properly belongs.

Some have argued that it would take months for the Economic Commission to set up adequate aid machinery; that not a single day can be lost when, to quote Mr. Bevin, Europe lies "bleeding to death." But the most optimistic forecasts do not set the date for Congressional action on the Marshall plan much before February of next year.

Some have argued that the United Nations is too weak, that the job requires determination and aggressiveness. To them, I repeat what I used to tell critics of the League of Nations: a world organization can only be as strong as its parts. Weakened by the crisis of 1938, the League could still have rallied and stopped Hitler had England and France chosen to make use of its machinery. Instead, they went to Munich. By-passed until now, the United Nations can serve to restore Europe without dividing it. If the primary aim of the Marshall plan is to defeat Russia without going to war, the United Nations is of no use. If its aim is to rebuild Europe, the United Nations is the proper instrument.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Sartre's Research

*THE AGE OF REASON.* By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Eric Sutton. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

"THE AGE OF REASON" is the first novel in a projected trilogy, "Roads to Freedom," by the leader of the French Existentialists; the second, already published in France, is promised in English translation later this year. What Sartre gives us, so far, is a canvas of the forlornness—to use a term we frequently encounter in the writing of the Existentialists—of modern man. Huddled together in the Paris of 1938, on the eve of the war, is a group of middle-class bohemians committed to nothing and connected with nothing in life—Mathieu, a professor of philosophy; Marcelle, his self-invalided mistress; Daniel, a tortured homosexual; Boris and Ivitch, brother and sister, devotees of infantilism; Lola, an aging cafe singer and drug addict. This central circle of "The Age of Reason" is touched by another series of modern types—Jacques, Mathieu's fascist-minded bourgeois brother; Brunet, a Communist; Sarah, a maternal Jewess who takes too much pleasure in helping her troubled friends.

None of these people is heroic; each is the victim rather than the master of his fate. Only Brunet is firmly organized around a purpose, and only Mathieu suggests the possibility of a significant moral change in the future. In this first volume of his trilogy, that is, Sartre has done no more than lead his patients into the theater and describe their symptoms. He has convinced us that his world is very sick, but he has not yet prescribed a cure. For this, we must either await the succeeding volumes or refer to his other work.

We have been told that Sartre's fictional method has been influenced by Dos Passos. But even a summary listing of the characters in "The Age of Reason" should indicate the unsoundness of pressing the connection. Dos Passos's social canvas is obviously much broader than Sartre's. Dos Passos also commands a much higher vantage in relation to his characters. Then, too, there is much more *event* in Dos Passos's novels than in this book of Sartre's, the whole of whose external action hangs upon the fact that Mathieu's mistress has become pregnant and must either be allowed to bear her child or be provided with the money for an abortion. "The Age of Reason" is, indeed, claustrophobic in its limitation of movement and action: we recognize that this mood expresses Sartre's belief that only an understanding of the true meaning of freedom allows man to escape the increasing pressures of life. The characters in "The Age of Reason" talk obsessively about freedom. They may mean anything from a refusal of the responsibility of marriage, to political quietism, to Gide's *acte gratuite.* From Sartre's other work, not from anything he tells us in this book, we know that these are all false interpretations and that by "freedom" he means the taking of a full responsibility for our own lives, and that his notion of responsibility goes so far as to reach the categorical imperative of Kant: we must always act as if our choice should be the rule for mankind.

Much closer than any resemblance of Sartre's method to that of Dos Passos is, I think, its resemblance to the microcosmic method of the early Aldous Huxley, where the miseries of a small, especially exacerbated segment of society—the society, roughly, of the author himself—is taken to stand for the whole modern dilemma. And this is not the sole respect in which "The Age of Reason" brings Huxley to mind.

Behind Huxley's present religious position there stretches, of course, the history of a long search for an authority in life. It is only in his last novels that Huxley has openly personified this authority in a strong father-figure, who is a sort of earthly liaison to God. But it has always been clear that his need of a some*thing* to which man might cling was actually the need for a some*one;* and what we have watched, as his ideas have evolved, is the process by which the real physical parent-person has been transformed into an ideal parent-person, the alchemy by which parental flesh has been changed to parental spirit. Before Huxley could permit any authority to the father, he had to rid him of body. The sexual disgust and confusion from which his characters have always suffered is primarily a disgust with the sexual parent; it is only resultingly a disgust with themselves.

One must be struck by the similarity between the sexual atmosphere of "The Age of Reason" and that of Huxley's novels. None of Sartre's bohemians is sexually at peace, each fights his sexual impulses. It is in the sexual sphere, in other words, that Sartre centers the conflict between good and evil in life. Like Huxley's books, "The Age of Reason" is heavy with unpleasant reminders—bad tastes in the mouth, self-inflicted bleedings, vomit, body odors—of the kind of dominion the body can exercise over the spirit. And all the characters are concerned in some unsatisfactory child-parent relationship: Boris, Ivitch, Daniel all look to Mathieu as to a father; Mathieu's own crisis has to do with his fear of parenthood; Daniel "solves" his homosexual problem by assuming the incongruous role of father to Mathieu's child. The deep sense of separateness from which these people suffer is actually an alienation from the parents in whom they could once have placed full confidence, an alienation which we are given evidence to believe has a sexual source.

Here the analogy to Huxley must sharply end. Where Huxley goes on to replace the authority of the physical father with the authority of God the Father, and His saintly representative on earth, Sartre remains rigorously atheistic and—as we know from his other writings—incorporates all authority into the individual himself. Where Huxley's philosophy ensues in passivity, the Existential philosophy insists upon man's involvement with his time.

And yet, there seems to me to be a large suggestiveness in the common emotional ground from which the two take off—the fact that Sartre, like Huxley, is so concerned to destroy the parental figure of authority. Huxley has found another authority to substitute for it; might it not be possible that Sartre will need to do the same? While one

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hesitates to conjecture that perhaps the very fierceness of the Existentialist protest against authority disguises a longing for it, we recall that Heidegger, the German Existentialist, became a Nazi, and we take note of the fact that the Communist Brunet in "The Age of Reason" is given, almost all unconsciously, a quite different moral quality from the other characters. Huxley chose God; might not the Existentialist choose the State—the proletarian dictatorship, say, though not the fascist dictatorship? Might not the final act of freedom be the free choice to give up all purely personal freedom?

In his little volume, "Existentialism," Sartre acknowledges his "distress" that God does not exist to give man "essence," and thus his inescapable moral values. "Everything is permissible if God does not exist," he quotes from Dostoievski. But we need be neither theists nor without moral principle to refuse to erect ourselves, with Sartre, into the first, final, and only source and repository of all values. For to do this is surely to place an insupportable burden of responsibility upon ourselves as individuals and to be tempted, as experience teaches us that the overburdened individual is always tempted, to seek some external organization, theological or political, which will take the weight from us—this, or else to be entirely incapacitated for action.

As an artistic performance, "The Age of Reason" is rather more than competent. I especially like its relaxed command of language, its easy movement between the colloquial and the educated idiom. Its chief interest, however, is as a document in an extraordinarily interesting moral research.

DIANA TRILLING

## Men Overboard

*THE DARK SHIP.* By Richard O. Boyer. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

*THE MANY AND THE FEW.* By Henry Kraus. The Plantin Press, Los Angeles. $2.50.

BOTH of these books purport to fill the very real need for honest, close-up writing about American trade unions and their members. Boyer's volume is subtitled "an account of the life and times of a sea-going trade union, of the pioneers who built it and the men who maintain it on the globe's seven seas." George F. Addes and R. J. Thomas sign a preface to Kraus's book in which they call it "a simple story of simple people." In both cases, the blurbs are deceptive. Both authors—Kraus to a lesser degree than Boyer—have written tracts that are about as persuasively realistic as the hostile pictures of trade unionism distributed by the National Association of Manufacturers. Kraus is infinitely less artful than Boyer. But it is Boyer, because of an unhappy accident of history, who gives the show away.

The occupational hazards confronting a journalist who follows the Communist Party line have been frequently and painfully revealed. Few recent cases are as gruesome as that of the author of "The Dark Ship." Some readers may recall that, not many months ago, Mr. Boyer, who splits his personality between the whimsical headquarters of the *New Yorker* and the orthodox office of the *New Masses*, contributed a profile of Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, to the *New Yorker*. It was an ardently affectionate work, a labor of proletarian love. These pieces, it develops, formed the basis for a large section of the book on the maritime union which Mr. Boyer has now published. But disaster struck at just about the time the book was going to press. Curran became a "renegade." He turned and bit the Communist hands that fed him and proclaimed that the Communist Party was practicing its familiar strategy of "rule-or-ruin" in the N. M. U.

Mr. Boyer's dilemma probably calls for pity rather than polemics. He had valiantly attempted to present the N. M. U. as the creation of a bunch of ordinary working stiffs, with poetry in their souls, politics on their minds, and simple devotion to their fellow men in their hearts. According to this romantic tale, Joe Curran was nature's nobleman, around whom all this virtuous business revolved. But suddenly, in the closing pages, the tone shifts. Harry Bridges, who has remained devout, emerges as the hero of all maritime endeavor. As for Curran, Mr. Boyer suggests strong doubt that the build-up in the preceding pages was justified. On page 299 he writes:

> Some months later this unity of the seven maritime unions that had paid off so handsomely in increased wages was faced with dissolution as a result of Curran's charge that the coalition was dominated by Reds. In the serious union struggle that followed, charges of "Red" and "agent of the bosses" were hurled with an abandon which could only please N. M. U.'s enemies. But the N. M. U. is a democratic union and the rank-and-file, in the last analysis, will decide whether the unity gained after such a long struggle was profitable or harmful. It is the rank-and-file which will decide in their own good time whether the unity that gained them the largest raise in the history of the industry was a Moscow plot or action in the best interest of the membership.

So this saga of the sea ends in a swamp of party-line gibberish. The man overboard is named Curran. Needless to say, Boyer makes no attempt to examine the nature of Curran's charges against his former Communist associates or to explain why "Big Joe" finally lost patience. The whole performance gives the book something of the quality of a trick mystery story, for the villain turns out to be the guy nobody could have suspected in the first two hundred pages.

Kraus' ideological paralysis is more candid. His subject is the historic General Motors sitdown strike of 1937. But in his own author's introduction, he writes:

> The question of interpretation rose most sharply perhaps in the treatment of such an individual as John L. Lewis. The author would certainly not excuse the conduct of this man during the war nor his surrender of principles which he did much to energize in the early days of the C. I. O. Yet he does not regard the outstanding role played by Lewis in this narrative, based as it is on incontestable fact, as a contradiction. It is his firm conviction that the social entity rather than the individual is the determining factor in history. . .

Whatever this means, it probably explains the wooden, lifeless representation of the struggle at Flint which Kraus offers. Unlike Boyer, Kraus makes a genuine, if awkward, effort to avoid flagrant factionalism in choosing his favorites. But the "people" to whom the book is ostensibly dedicated are totally overshadowed by his passionate desire to write a "pro-union" book,

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dramatizing the glories of "unity" in the labor movement. The lives of trade unions and their members are unhappily more varied and complex than Kraus is prepared to admit in public. And his story throws strangely little illumination on the sad internal struggles that have followed the United Automobile Workers' bright hours of triumph. It is an unrevealing chronicle, like a collection of newspaper clips adorned with a few intimate scenes of young unionists at the barricades.

The literature of contemporary labor battles remains meagre and unsatisfying. But it can only be written by men whose imaginations transcend party lines and house-organ stereotypes.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

## Security and Stimulation

*CHILDREN OF THE CUMBERLAND.* By Claudia Lewis. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

THIS book is a significant contribution to the study of child development. Its title is misleading. It is a regional study, and an extremely interesting one, but it is a great deal more. It is an analysis of the effects of two vastly different environments upon young children—that of Sommerville (the name is fictitious) in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee, and that of Greenwich Village in New York City.

The general approach of the book is clearly stated by the author when she says in the introduction that it is for those "who like to speculate on the sources of human personality and behavior." Results are not final; the methods of study used are not those of pure science. In this fact lies one of its distinctive values. An examination of children, not in offices or other "controlled" surroundings, but in their natural habitat, has certain definite advantages. And a presentation of them, not as series of reactions, but as living, breathing human beings, also has advantages. Subjective interpretations of human behavior may be as valid as objective interpretations. And Miss Lewis combines rare sensitiveness and deep insight with considerable literary skill.

She grapples here with one of the most fundamental and baffling questions facing educators today, the relative value for children of emotional security—of love and a sense of belonging—as opposed to an environment conducive to achievement, to learning. On the whole, the Sommerville children had security but very little else. They were loved. They did everything—from driving the cows home to attending funerals—with their parents. Each child was sure of his place in the group; he had no need to feel jealous of the others. But their homes were ugly, crowded cabins, barren of elements that stimulate curiosity or the urge to do or to make, that develop a sense of beauty, or that make demands on powers of adaptation.

The Greenwich Village children had what the Sommerville children lacked—stimulus, variety, relatively rapid change, and the need to make adjustments. But many of their parents were too taken up with their own affairs to give them the time and attention they needed. Nor were they given sufficient chance to become active participants in the life of the home.

The Sommerville children were relatively easy to handle in the nursery school; they were compliant and offered a minimum of rebellion against adult authority. The Village children were high-strung and more difficult, but they were also more eager, more alive, more responsive. They were both more aggressive and more creative.

Making allowances for complicating factors, Miss Lewis concludes that if city children could know more of the security of the Cumberland children, theirs would be the better environment, since it would do more to develop latent capacity and to stimulate adjustment on a high level.

I myself would question whether the Cumberland parents—living on a bare subsistence level, many of them on relief—really gave their children security. And for this reason, I think Miss Lewis may have overestimated the negative influence of the lack of stimulation in the rural environment. But despite this and other limitations, the value of the book is unquestionable. Educators tend to place too much emphasis on programs and to slight the importance of human relations in the classroom; psychologists are prone to minimize the place of achievement and to lean too heavily on the factor of emotional security. This is one of the few books which seek to give due consideration to both factors.

AGNES E. BENEDICT

## "Factism"

*FREEDOM OF THE MOVIES.* By Ruth A. Inglis. The University of Chicago Press. $3.

THIS doctor's thesis, sponsored by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, is a significant achievement: it manages to keep the fascinating subject of movie censorship completely submerged under a flood of facts and homilies which are, in some mysterious way—I grant the author—related to the question of movie censorship. Sociological "Factism" here creates new values in the middle strata of meaninglessness. The technique for devoting eight years to research, and ending up with little more consciousness than was contained in the material of research itself, is as follows: a) always assume that a new idea is wrong; b) when it is obviously correct, treat it as a presumption. When it is no longer possible to maintain the fiction that the other fellow's point of view may be right, forget about right. But whatever happens, *never be subjective!* Subjectivity, not money, is the root of all evil. And if it is also the root of all good—well, one makes sacrifices.

"The problem as regards the movies is only an individual instance of the general question which has puzzled philosophers and statesmen for centuries: How can the public will prevail and order be maintained and, at the same time, dissident minorities have their proper influence for change? (Two other publications of the Commission . . . discuss the problem in general terms.) The problem is one of devising social mechanisms for achieving these results."—This is sociological factism in its naked essence: the notion that "mechanisms" are capable of achieving "results." It is subjective will that achieves—*anything.* Mechanisms achieve only themselves. One is either identified with the public will that "prevails," or with a "dissident minority." This is the entire point, this identification. Miss Inglis thinks it presumptuous or superfluous to take sides, so she has written a book that is competent, but dull.

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However, the book contains numerous facts; and one of the most interesting is that the formula that lies at the core of the motion picture Production Code (which was written by a Jesuit) is one of "compensating moral values." That is, a bad lawyer is balanced by a good lawyer; if an unhappy marriage is presented there must also be a happy one; guilt, suffering, punishment must follow upon the commission of any unconventional sexual or aggressive act. In this way, the conservative morality buttressing the status quo is preserved, without ignoring modern life-experience. But, naturally, both morality and life take on a fundamental ambiguity. The Code adheres not to the truth of life but to "morality." What is this morality which admittedly contradicts reality? It seems clear that it is nothing but the unnaked sword.

When morality no longer grows out of the necessities of life, that morality is something no *self-respecting* person will respect.

DAVID T. BAZELON

## Nazi Economics

*PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN A CONTROLLED ECONOMY: Germany, 1933-1939.* By Samuel Lurié. Columbia University Press. $3.

ONE of the most powerful pieces of Nazi propaganda, which achieved great public acceptance in the pre-war period, was the picture presented of its economic miracle. The Germans boasted that they had achieved a "crisis-proof" full-employment economy. Mounting indices of production and apparent increases in wages were used to advertise the regime. Dr. Lurié, in his crisp, lucid study of the investment pattern, exposes these claims. Real wages, he shows, were kept down by freezing wage rates at the level of the 1933 depression. The long-run pattern of the German economy, he concludes, had to find outlet in war, which "was an inevitable stage in the dynamic evolution of the 'New Economic Order'."

The Germans, while abandoning the automatic regulatory function of the market, retained to a very large extent the free enterprise pattern of ownership and motivation. The basic pattern allowed for control over prices, the wages and mobility of labor, the supply of money and credit, and, finally, over the forms of industrial organization. In this last sphere, in fact, some entrepreneurial organizations were mere extensions of state administrative control. Cartelization was fostered, and in some cases compelled.

The direction of investment was achieved through control of capital formation, and by keeping a close rein on the credit and banking facilities which were, in time, aligned with the economic objectives of the system. Initially, the Reichsbank was used as the source of public credit, and as the springboard of investment control. A distinctive feature of the system was the self-financing of business enterprises which were allowed to accumulate funds of capital in the form of hidden reserves, by means of excessive depreciation allowances or other accounting fictions. These were variously applied according to the needs served by the given business in the national plan.

The question has often been argued whether or not the Nazi economic system, as it developed, meant the destruction of the capitalist ownership of industry. According to Dr. Lurié, the system of free enterprise was kept largely intact. Indirect "steering controls" were employed, but "coercive measures played a relatively minor role . . . the carrying out of public policies was done primarily through the channels of private economic motivation." This implementation of state programs, moreover, was "frequently associated with substantial profits to the private interests involved."

Though Dr. Lurié's style is a trifle turgid at times, his study is well documented from original sources, coherently organized, and carefully presented. It deals with an important subject which ought to be of interest to the layman as well as the professional economist.

R. RICHARD WOHL

## American Pattern

*THE MARCH OF FREEDOM.* By William Harlan Hale. Harper and Brothers. $3.

CONFESSING that he had forgotten most of the American history he had once learned, Mr. Hale asked his publisher to let him "start at the beginning, at the bottom of the class, and write the story of what I find out." This "layman's history of the American People" is proof that he did his homework diligently and enjoyed himself thoroughly into the bargain. It shows evidence of extensive and varied reading and it is written with a gusto that communicates itself easily to the reader. As a refresher course in American history, I can recommend it enthusiastically.

Mr. Hale is a pragmatic liberal whose acid test of government is its responsiveness to the popular will. In the American march of freedom, as he sees it, there have been many halts, retreats, and wrong turnings. "Sometimes," he writes, "the people triumphed and at other times they failed and receded, and then the next generation had to pick up the pieces and start all over from there. And they did pick up the pieces: that struck me as one of the great patterns of American life." This is a cheering message for the dog-days of reaction provided, as the author says, that the American past is regarded "not as a benign recollection but as a precept to renewed action."

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# Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ADDITIONAL London Decca recordings I have heard include one of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony performed by de Sabata with the London Philharmonic (Set ED-19; $15). From it I have learned more about de Sabata as a musician—that he is capable, as Toscanini is not, of occasional eccentricity or perversity, like the incredibly slow pace of the first movement; but also that he is able to maintain in the music, even at that pace, the sustained continuity it must have. After the first movement there is just a very fine performance in the usual tempos (there are, I must add, some discontinuities of pace at the breaks of the records). The recorded sound is dull, and the winds are much too weak.

As far as I am concerned there has been only one reason for listening to Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé"; and that has been Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony. But now I have heard a performance by Münch with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra which I judge—from what it sounds like as it comes off the London Decca records (Set ED-29; $7)—to be fully the equal of the Boston. That is, as it comes off the records it has all the miraculous refinement and subtlety of coloring of the Boston performance in Carnegie Hall (which the Boston doesn't have on the recent Victor records). In other words, it is marvelously recorded, with only a slight edge to the violins and a little high-frequency distortion at climaxes.

The first movement of Brahms's Third Symphony, as performed by van Beinum with the London Philharmonic (Set ED-22; $11) is too stolid, the finale over-deliberate; and the second movement, which begins as the *Andante* it should be, is spoiled by too many changes of pace. The recorded sound is clear but not lustrous with the wide-range Brush pickup, and best with one of limited range like the Zenith.

Some of the fine Tchaikovsky music that we hear in American performances of "Swan Lake" (the introduction, the swan queen's solo, the dance of the four cygnets), together with some that we don't, is well-performed by the National Symphony under Sidney Beer; and the recorded sound is very good except for a slight edge to the violins (Set ED-11; $5). Also, some of the music from Tchaikovsky's "Sleeping Beauty" that we have heard in performances of "Aurora's Wedding" and "Princess Aurora" (the introduction, the Bluebird), together with some fine music that we haven't, is well-performed by the B. B. C. Theater Orchestra under Stanford Robinson; but this time the recorded sound, though good on a limited-range machine, is dull with bad distortion in loud passages on a machine of wide range (Set ED-18; $5).

Schubert's Piano Sonata Opus 122, one of the earlier members of the series, and of smaller stature than the later ones, has nevertheless its moments of power in addition to the characteristic Schubert loveliness. And even this loveliness requires some sharpness of contour in its phrases—of which there is none in Kathleen Long's smooth, pallid performance. The sound of the piano has the usual London Decca dullness and weakness of treble (Set ED-26; $7).

On London Decca single records: Berlioz's delightful "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture, well played by Sargent with the National Symphony, and superbly recorded, with only a slight edge to the violins and a little high-frequency distortion in loud passages (K-1416; $2). The Overture and Pastoral Symphony from Handel's "Messiah," well-played by Sargent with the London Symphony, and well-recorded (K-1499). Mendelssohn's fine "Hebrides" or "Fingal's Cave" Overture, well-played by Unger with the National Symphony, and well-recorded except for violins that are lusterless and edged on a wide-, but not on a limited-range machine (K-1120). Weber's "Freischütz" Over-


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ture, well-played by Leinsdorf with the London Philharmonic, the violins in loud passages weak and veiled on a wide-range, muffled on a limited-range machine (K-1589). "O Rest in the Lord" and "Woe Unto Them" from Mendelssohn's "Elijah," music I don't care for, beautifully sung by Katherine Ferrier, contralto (K-1556). A Chopin Mazurka in F minor and his Valse Brillante Opus 34 No. 3, well-played by Nicolas Orloff, and the Impromptu Opus 29 with its middle section distorted by the usual exaggerated rubato—the sound of the piano again being weak in treble (K-1424). And on a Parlophone single (R-20444; $2) the tenor arias from "Don Giovanni" sung with beauty of voice by Tauber—*Il mio tesoro* with a vitality that gets explosive, *Dalla sua pace* occasionally with the mannered phrasing of the operetta style.

## Letters to the Editors

### The Case of "Father" Duncan

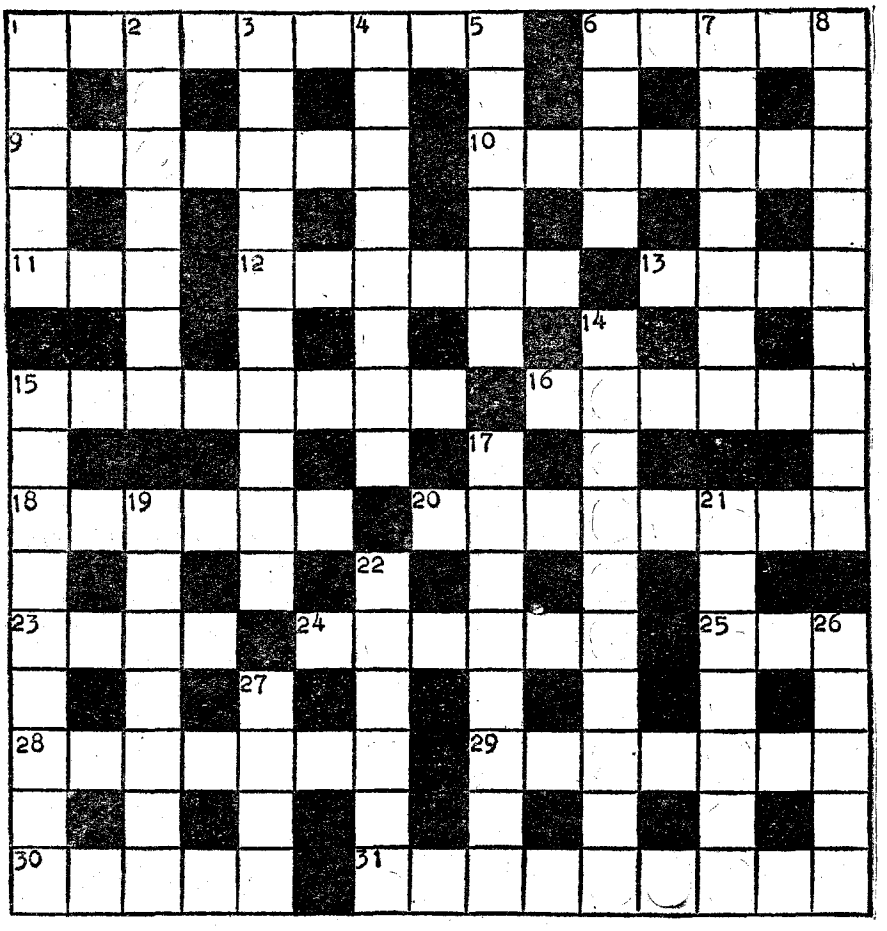
*Dear Sirs:* I have read with much interest Mr. Neuberger's excellent article in your issue of July 19, about the Metlakahtla Indians. It does not, however, tell the whole story.

There can be no doubt about the value of the work of "Father" Duncan. He was a devoted person. But he had personal characteristics which embroiled him, first with the Canadian authorities, and, in his old age, with the American authorities. Incidentally, the story of his quarrel with Bishop Ridley, as I heard it a good many years ago, was not one of jealousy on the part of the Bishop, but of a rather profound difference of opinion as to the service of the Church of England. I was told that Mr. Duncan, whose popular appellation of "Father" was said to have been distasteful to him, objected to the communion service as reminding his charges of their earlier cannibalism.

However that may be, at the time of Duncan's death, the cannery and sawmill to which Mr. Neuberger alludes were no longer in operation and the settlement was at a low ebb. Its rehabilitation was under the influence and guidance of the Department of the Interior.

The settlement on Annette Island was, as Mr. Neuberger says, in pursuance of an order by President Cleveland. But the President's authority to make the order was challenged and Con-

# CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 223 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the first of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y, in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

**ACROSS**

1 Wagers with a Greek. (9)
6 Steam comes out of them. (5)
9 Gold animals collide and have something in common. (7)
10 11 across confuses Tabbies. (7)
11 Shake! It sounds like a third of a game. (3)
12 Old England is barely disturbed by its lack of color. (6)
13 It's painful for the God to return. (4)
15 Are they sent from a maiden to a saintless place? (8)
16 Must one profess to be so minded? (6)
18 One has a hat on his head with a blemish on his cheek. (6)
20 Such crimes go unpunished. (8)
23 Young blade of Treasure Island. (4)
24 Rub the wrong way with a French drink. (6)
25 Scratch the back of this animal. (3)
28 There's a point to them, so they're not quite unnecessary. (7)
29 There's a purpose in what some apartment-dwellers pay for clothes. (7)
30 This also has a purpose, to a degree. (5)
31 And in Germany, it's found in a colorful insect. (9)

**DOWN**

1 This is the limit! (5)
2 Friendly pilots? (7)
3 I'm not in, as a result of making Popeye photogenic. (10)
4 How would you like to be Nelson for a change? (8)
5 They're smooth as upside-down containers. (6)
6 A spicy club came here. (4)
7 I take the proper attitude, after short notice. (7)
8 The butler is usually this at first. (9)
14 Is this the seaman's answer? (10)
15 6 down is the head of this country. (9)
17 Buried among Communists? (8)
19 A sudden riser gets the raven up. (7)
21 Take 19, but not up, and be in addition a flower. (7)
22 Brothers of the D.A.R. replace the water in 24. (6)
26 French word and a song. (5)
27 Where the flea found a flaw? (4)

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 222**

ACROSS:—1 DISINTEGRATES; 10 OPERATE; 11 LACTATE; 12 PETRINE; 13 OVERLAP; 14 SHAVERS; 15 SLENDER; 16 INQUEST; 20 MOBBISM; 23 NOISOME; 24 MACEDON; 25 TABBIES; 26 NIRVANA; 27 SECESSIONISTS.

DOWN:—2 INERTIA; 3 IMAGINE; 4 TEETERS; 5 GALLOWS; 6 ACCRETE; 7 ENABLED; 8 COMPASSIONATE; 9 TEMPERAMENTAL; 17 QUIBBLE; 18 EROSIVE; 19 TRESSES; 20 MEMENTO; 21 BACARDI; 22 INDRAFT.

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gressional action followed, in 1891, to put the matter beyond question. It was provided that the affairs of the Metlakahtlans should be subject to the regulation of the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Education for the natives in Alaska.

Years later, the possibility of rehabilitation of the settlement was threatened by encroachment of the great fishing companies upon the waters surrounding the island. President Wilson intervened with an executive order, and then the firm action of the Department of Justice made the situation secure. See *Alaska Pacific Fisheries Co.* v. *United States,* 248 U. S. 78, in which I had the fortune to appear for the government in the Supreme Court. For this interference with "free enterprise," the Administration was, in some circles, roundly denounced. The fish supply for the rebuilt cannery was, however, secured, and the experiment in "planned economy" went on with the happy results which Mr. Neuberger describes.

LA RUE BROWN

Boston, July 20

## A Tree for Goudy

*Dear Sirs:* I invite all those who have admired the late Frederic W. Goudy to make a parting gesture of respect for this native American genius, by subscribing $1.50 each to the planting of a tree in his memory, in Palestine.

It is my hope to collect enough to enable us to plant an entire grove of trees, as has been done in memory of other world-famous non-Jewish personalities of all countries. (There are, for instance, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln forests, as well as the groves.) If you think well of this plan, won't you please send me your check? Please address me at 216 East Forty-fifth Street, New York 17, N. Y., eighth floor.

ALBERT SCHILLER

New York, July 24

## Cape, Not Oxford

*Dear Sirs:* While we were reading (with pleasure) Rolfe Humphries's review of C. Day Lewis's translation of "The Georgics of Virgil" in *The Nation* of July 5, we noticed a slight error. Mr. Humphries says that "an English edition was published by the present publishers, the Oxford University Press." As a matter of fact, the English edition was put out by Jonathan Cape.

ALISON LURIE,
Oxford University Press

New York, July 8


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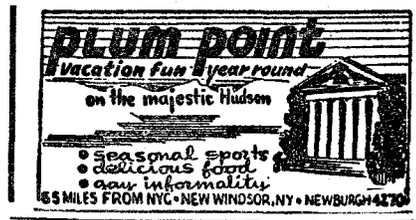
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